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ABSTRACT

Described is a project intended to help junior high school students gain understanding and experience in political decision making. The hypothesis is that students will show an increase in political efficacy, interest, trust, and social integration when they become involved in the political functioning of their schools. This hypothesis is in direct contradiction with much previous political socialization literature, which is discussed in the first section of the paper. The school as a political system is perceived as interacting with other agencies in society such as family, church, business organizations, government and/or providing interactions among teachers, students, and administrators within the school. The model describes teaching modules including specific student activities which teach students to apply basic participatory concepts and skills to school decisions which affect them. Activities for grades 6 and 7 in the cognitive, affective, evaluative, normative, and participatory domains are suggested, including problem identification, data analysis, observation, showing political interest, bargaining, rule making, and promoting equality. The paper and pencil instruments, structured interviews, observations, attitude surveys and teacher module evaluation forms for collecting data from students, teachers, administrators, and parents are included in the appendix. (Author/DB)

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DECISION MAKING IN THE SCHOOL: A PARTICIPATORY MODEL

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The project seeks to provide a program which enables middle school students to understand how political decisions are made. Through planned activities students learn to apply basic participatory concepts and skills to school decisions that affect them. As a result of this program students are expected to show an increase in their political efficacy, interest, trust, and social integration. The hypothesis above is tested in a three-year study utilizing three schools--two experimental and one control. Data are collected from students, teachers, administrators, and parents through paper-and-pencil instruments, structured interviews, and observation systems.

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Writing about a decade ago Hess and Torney stated that "The public school is the most important instrument of political socialization in the United States."[1] Since that time, however, virtually all of the major studies conducted in the United States and abroad failed to provide supporting evidence for such an unequivocal conclusion. Merelman, who reviewed some of the literature on the subject, concluded that "the school seems to be lagging behind other socialization agencies in the race to inculcate political values."[2] The literature on the subject generally reflects Merelman's lukewarn attitude toward the school. The pattern in the review of the literature is for some authors (e.g., Hyman, Sears) to relegate the school to a secondary or insignificant position as a source of political socialization by simple exclusion and concentration on other agencies.[3] Some authors, however, view carefully the role of the school in the political socialization of children and youth and find it either insignificant toward meeting educational goals of citizenship (e.g., Massialas, Merelman) or so ambiguous as to not warrant unqualified conclusions (e.g., Niemi).[4] One of the reviewers (Niemi) summarizes the state of knowledge in the field as follows:

> "Now in some ways there can be little doubt that the school has a significant impact. In sheer volume of knowledge possessed by an individual, whether it be knowledge of political or non-political material, the school almost certainly plays a prominent role. And yet when it comes to political ideas and attitudes, it is far less clear just what role the school (grade school, high school, or college) plays."[5]

The paradox of all this is that many of the reviewers who, on the basis of research evidence, attribute an insignificant role to the school see in it an unexploited and largely unexplored source that could be

made to have a significant impact on the political life of the students and the polity in which they are expected to participate. At this point let us look in more detail at the role of the school in political socialization, trying to explain why we have not been able to find reliable evidence to support its importance as a socializing agent.

The School's Political Effects on Youth

Our failure to find the school a significant agent politicizing youth is in part a function of: a) policy and program ambiguities that exist regarding the role of the school in citizenship or political education, b) conceptual and methodological weaknesses in tapping within school politically relevant variables.

Let us begin with the first problem-namely that there exist in school policies and programs inherent incompatibilities and inconsistencies which tend to minimize the role of the school vis-à-vis political socialization. Virtually any statement regarding citizenship objectives will ask that students acquire the democratic values of respect, equality, and participation. The list of objectives given below is typical:[6]

1. Show concern for the welfare and dignity of others
2. Support rights and freedoms of all individuals
3. Help maintain law and order
4. Know the main structure and functions of our government
5. Seek community improvement through active democratic participation
6. Understand problems of international relations
7. Support rationality in communication, thought, and action on social problems
8. Take responsibility for our personal development and obligations

9. Help and respect their own families (ages 9, 13, 17)

10. Nurture the development of their children as future citizens (adults)

Cleary-who conducted a review of citizenship objectives in historical perspective-identified many listed above as crucial.[7] He considered the leading qualities of good citizenship to include respect for human dignity, patriotism and national loyalty, participation in and support for the representative process, and action in pursuit of the general welfare. Regarding patriotism and loyalty, Cleary put it as follows:

> ...the obligations of patriotism are extensive in a functioning democracy...In such a society there must be an acceptance of the legitimate authority of its leaders.[8]

Turning to participation, Cleary said:

> It has long been a central tenet of American political thought that an alert and an informed citizenry, taking part in public policy-making, is an essential element of democracy...The responsible citizen...carefully studies issues of public policy and participates in the democratic process...[9]

These are certainly very lofty and noble objectives for the school. Are they attained? The evidence suggests that very few of these are attained to a reasonable degree. Let us look at the evidence.

The first study of children in the United States which used a national probability sample was conducted by Hess and Torney in the early 1960's and revealed that the elementary school (through grade 8) emphasized only one of the citizenship goals stated before: namely, loyalty and patriotism.[10] Thus the major political function of the elementary school is to foster compliance with governmental rules and authority. On the other hand, "the citizen's right to participate in

government is underemphasized in the school's curriculum."[11] As a result of this students develop an emotional attachment and unquestioning loyalty and patriotism toward the country, although they do not understand the meaning and the function of national symbols and rituals.

Jennings and Niemi who also used a national probability sample of students (high school seniors) found similar results, i.e., the school civics curriculum contributed more to the loyalty than the participation orientations of students. This was particularly true among blacks. For the blacks "a good citizen is above all a loyal citizen rather than an active one."[12]

Additional studies further indicate that the school generally has not promoted critical analysis of issues and student participation in decisions.[13] Textbooks and materials used in schools and school teachers tend to advance and reinforce nonreflective notions of allegiance and responsibility to the government. Conversely, participatory political behavior directed toward change is generally not supported. As a result of this, children and youth trained in American schools do not learn political skills which are needed to participate effectively in political life. As Shantz pointed out in her study, students were "negatively-oriented toward running for office themselves and did not see themselves as the citizens who actually make decisions on social policies and problems." All in all, the major empirical works in the United States indicate that there are contradictions in stated educational policies and programs of study. Under the influence of the school, the goal of actual participation in democratic decision-making is rarely implemented.

There is another basic contradiction between educational polity and actual practice in the school. At the "objectives" level there is a stress on knowledge and understanding of the structure and function of social institutions such as the economic system, the government, the family, the church, etc.[14] What happens in schools, however, is generally the opposite. Rather than dealing with the realities of the social and political systems, students are considering only its ideals. American students generally are given a picture of society which excludes pressing problems of life from careful consideration and makes them feel that they have the capability to influence major governmental decisions. Some students through personal experiences soon discover that what is taught in school on the system is-by far-removed from reality. Other students go through life thinking that the system operates in accordance with the textbook and, as a result of this, they continue to believe that the vote they cast every two or four years is their direct way of inputting into the system. Many, however, become frustrated when they discover their school has not provided the opportunity for them to learn the realities of the system, i.e., how decisions are often the result of interest articulation and interest aggregation rather than simply "writing a letter to a Congressman." The literature on this topic is quite voluminous, especially in relation to textbooks and programs of study. Every single author confirms the discrepancy that exists in school between the ideals of democracy and the conditions of the real world.[15]

The most recent study on this topic conducted in 22 schools in the Cleveland area found "that instruction in politics tended to transmit a naive, unrealistic picture of political life, placing undue stress

on formal government structure."[16] One of the reasons given for this was the "general downgrading of the importance of politics in our schools..."

Subjective accounts of the socialization influence of the school by such well known writers as Larry Cuban, Edgar Friedenberg, and John Holt confirm the research findings above,[17] viz., that through various mechanisms the school, by and large, suppresses individuality and independence among children and youth and fosters conformity and dependence. As a result of all this, students have a very low sense of political efficacy, i.e., the feeling that they understand how the system operates and have confidence in themselves to influence it. For ethnic minority students "the function of the school, in socializing them...is to deprive them of access to that source of self-esteem and to shake their confidence in the standard from which it is derived."[18] According to Friedenberg youngsters lose the source of strength that derives from an independent cultural tradition--the students become "defeated civilians" under the school's victorious armies of occupation."

Methodological Issues

Invariably reviews of and readers in the political socialization field follow the general pattern of summarizing or presenting studies under such categories as "the content of political learning," "the process of political learning," "mediating factors," and "agents."[19]

Under "the content of political learning" the reviewers usually deal with the cognitive knowledge and attitudinal orientations that people hold with regard to their political environment. Are students parochial or cosmopolitan? Are they authoritarian? Are they cynical

toward the political authorities? These types of questions and the answers which they elicit are usually discussed under this category.

Under the second category, "the process of political learning" the literature usually deals with answers to questions such as, under what circumstances does learning take place? Is political learning a function of cognitive maturation? Is it a function of imitation of adult roles? Are there separate and discrete stages in political learning?

When discussing "mediating factors" reviewers usually refer to such matters as age, sex, race, and ethnicity, intelligence, social class, place of residence, etc. and their relation to political learning. Are children who score relatively high on standard I.Q. measures more efficacious than those who score relatively low? Do boys as opposed to girls show any substantial differences in political learning? How about differences attributable to membership in a particular ethnic group?

The discussion of agencies most often includes reviews of the influence of family, school, peer group, and mass media on children and youth. Do the offspring maintain the same partisan political attitudes as their parents? Does the peer group influence its members to perform politically in a certain way? Does the school environment enhance or minimize one's sense of political competence? These are typical questions raised under this category by researchers of political socialization.

Answers to the questions above provided a whole range of findings and generalizations, many of them certainly not unambiguous or consistent with each other. It is not the purpose of this paper to even

attempt to summarize the most important findings under these categories. Interested readers who wish to obtain this background are directed to the extensive sources mentioned before. However, the point we make here is that the school should be thought of only as one factor in the political socialization of youth. Given this, while our program does not deal directly with other agents, it seeks to take into account their contributions. Although for research and developmental purposes we isolate the school as a center of study we realize that it does not operate in a vacuum--it is very much a part of other agencies and processes of society.

With this caveat let us go into some of the methodological issues which are relevant to understanding the potential that the school has vis-à-vis political learning.[20] The listing of the issues does not appear in any particular sequence. All of the issues raised related to the question of why the research does not identify the school as being particularly important in the political socialization of youth.

One of the problems in this area is that researchers have not been able to develop a good fix on the variable, "school." It is possible that "school"=as a category is too broad both in terms of developing a conceptual fix on it and in terms of designing appropriate measures to assess its impact on students' values and behaviors. So far it has been used in research mostly as a tool of convenience, not as a concept useful in theory building and research. As a result, many investigators, such as Hess and Torney, make generalized statements about schools rather than about one or two of its components (for example, teachers or books). Even more recent investigators, such as Jennings and Niemi, and Gillespie and Patrick, point to the school's insignificant impact

on the political learning of youth when they actually refer only to the impact of the formal civics curriculum. It is possible that the idea that political learning in the school can be attributed primarily to civics programs is not supportable. For example, how about the influence of subject areas other than civics and social studies (e.g., math, science, language arts, home economics, physical education, special education programs, etc.)? How about the influence of the non-formal type of activities that take place in the school (e.g., school dances, competitive athletics, social clubs, etc.)? How about the political and social climate prevailing in the school concerning decisions as to who gets what, when, and how? How about the manner in which other agents or processes interface with the operation of the school (for example, the operation of the P.T.O. group, the parent volunteer system or the school board)? In sum, the basic methodological problem that needs to be resolved stems from the fact that studies conducted in the past that failed to find substantial political effects of schools may, in part, have been operating under a very narrow concept of school, thus failing to consider significant variables. In the proposed project we seek to get a broader concept of school, but certainly not so broad as to defy evaluation and measurement.

Another methodological problem is that most R & D work in political socialization has not been based on explicit theory, or the theory used was rather narrow. Many research studies have no explicit theory of political socialization; but where a theoretical discussion is included, macro level, "systems" theories, predominate. These types of theories stem largely from David Easton's concept of the political system and the

role of political socialization in it.[21] Systems stability, change, and maintenance are related to the cognitions and attitudes of members of the polity. Over the years a political system receives from the electorate what Easton refers to as "diffuse support", i.e., a reservoir of support which members of a society extend to the regime, authorities, and political community. Without diffuse support from its citizens a political system cannot sustain itself, especially during periods of national crises (e.g., the Watergate incident). Thus, according to Easton, political socialization is viewed as the link between the individual and the system.

This initial macro level theoretical orientation has to this point dominated the field. Very few researchers, indeed, have developed adequate theory based on micro level concerns, i.e., the needs of individuals as opposed to the needs of society. Jennings and Niemi present the case when they argue,"...the justification for studying pre-adults should not rest solely on macro level consequences. Rather, we adopt the position that individual level effects as well as systemic implications constitute a reason for looking at pre-adult development."[22] To explicate the micro level approach Jennings and Niemi quote David Sears who states:

> The other main alternative is to emphasize the individual's personal growth, his unfolding in his own way, his "flowering," his self-actualization, the opening of his experience to political life, and the development of his capacity to maximize his own idiosyncratic needs and values through the political system.[23]

All of these authors argue- and with good reason - that the end result of political socialization need not be system stability and maintenance but individual happiness and improved self image. It is on this latter notion that the Nims project places its emphasis.

If one accepts the idea of political socialization operating at two levels -the macro as well as the micro - one needs to build appropriate analytical concepts and measures which would apply to both levels. It appears that at the macro level the concept of "diffuse support" may be appropriate. At the micro level Jennings and Niemi suggest the concepts of "social competence" and "moral judgement" as central to political behavior.[24] Social competence as a concept has been used extensively in the literature taking the form of political competence or political efficacy. "Moral judgement" as developed by Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg has not found its way into the political socialization literature.[25] It is our intent that "moral judgement" be a dependent variable in our work. We believe that this concept has an enormous strength to link the individual to broader societal norms and standards, as well as to make salient individual potentialities and feelings of self-worth.

If the individual basis of political socialization -in addition to the system basis -is accepted, then we should be less narrow as to how we perceive the entire socialization process. This process, as traditionally defined, involved a socializer (usually an adult) representing the dominant culture of the system and a person being socialized or socializee (usually a pre-adult). In the traditional mold, there is basically a one-way process--the socializer gives and the socializee takes. If individual concerns enter our notion of socialization then our whole concept changes to include dynamic and interactive relationships between the socializee and his/her environment. Thus the individual is not a passive recipient of culture, but a agent of change

as well. The way the direction of the socialization process is perceived has important implications on the learning process and the introduction of new instructional programs.

Closely related to the methodological issues presented thus far is the issue of the type of instrument designs used to tap in-school variables. Virtually all of the studies conducted in the past and cited in this review were based on survey research. Survey research seeks to recapture what happened in a particular setting at one point in time, frequently through the use of questionnaires and interview schedules. Experimental research, on the other hand, considers the short or long term effects of a new program, a new technology, a new organizational arrangement, etc. Experimental research is not usually based on national probability samples, and does not- as in survey research - take place after the event has occurred. Experimental research provides the opportunity for the researcher to manipulate factors in the children's environment and through various means observe the results.[26]

The undue reliance on survey research techniques has in part forced the political socialization field to place emphasis on quantitative rather than qualitative measures. It is certainly easier for researchers to count teachers, students, courses available, or resources invested in education, than to measure classroom psychological climate, cognitive performance, extent of actual involvement in analysis of controversial issues, or incidents of participatory activity. Although questionnaires and other paper-and-pencil instruments can provide valuable information on political socialization processes and outcomes, by themselves, they

do not tap well the qualitative aspects of the school milieu.[27] For those qualitative aspects we need to construct other types of evaluation systems (e.g., observation systems, unstructured interviews, and self reports). In some previous research we have used a category system of classroom observation known as the Michigan Social Issues Cognitive Category System.[28] This system seeks to provide the observer with an objective way of looking at the verbal communication patterns of groups. The system examines the flow of cognitive operations in communication and established the socio-psychological climate under which this takes place. What is needed from the methodological point of view is a new set of evaluation systems which would focus on both quantitative and qualitative in-school variables and would give us a broader and more reliable index (than in the past) of the effects of politically relevant programs.

We have already alluded to the fact that most political socialization research and development have been conducted on a piecemeal basis; hence, there are no overall theoretical constructs which would give the research direction and set the parameters with which such research can be pursued. As we have already stated one of the results of this is the fact that there is very little that one study contributes to the other; each one has generally its own unique independent and dependent variables and instruments for identifying potential links. For example, one researcher uses political efficacy of students as a dependent variable; another uses "participatory responsibility." Do these variable have anything in common? Do researchers tap the same or similar attributes? As Jennings and Niemi pointed out, are these variables too global to be meaningful in establishing the effects of

political socialization? Also, as we have seen, there is very little in the literature on actual as opposed to expected political participation. The most popular dimensions seem to be political knowledge, trust, efficacy, and partisanship. Only recently work has begun which would use actual political participation in school decisions as a dependent variable. At the elementary school level this work is being carried out by Richard C. Remy and his colleagues at Ohio State University.[29] At the senior high school level this type of work is carried out by Judith A. Gillespie, John J. Patrick and others at Indiana University.[30] While these projects have been able to overcome many of the methodological problems their inclusion of participatory political skills as part of the results of their intervention programs is promising.

In summing up this section on methodological problems we can confidently say that the areas we listed perhaps account for much of the discrepancies in the various studies on the impact of schooling on childrens' political learning. The major issues which we discussed only briefly here are:

(1) Political socialization has been identified primarily with formal civic education courses and not with other courses, activities, and experiences in the school.

(2) There is an absence of adequate theory to provide direction for R & D work in political socialization. Whatever theory has been applied, is focused on the macro or system level rather than the micro or individual level. There is a need to bring about a balance between the macro and the micro levels in understanding the significance of schools in the political life of children.

(3) Most of the research has been conducted as surveys and not as experimental research. Therefore, emphasis has been placed on quantitative measures which tap traditional school settings. Nonverbal means of measurement have not been used. What is needed is a new system of evaluation which would be compatible with the qualitative aspects of innovative programs.

(4) Political participation has been sought after in the schools. Most of the studies, however, do not focus on this presumably significant goal. Obviously there is an implicit assumption among researchers that actual political participation in school does not exist. Whatever the case may be unless we construct appropriate measures to tap participation we will never find out the actual school potential in this area. Our project seeks to focus on participation and identify the areas in which this can be done most effectively.

A Proposed Participatory Model

Table 2 presents us with a rough picture of a school which is used as a laboratory for gaining political experiences at the macro and micro levels. We use a modified Eastonian model with an input/output flow of demands and supports. The school as a political system at the macro level can be perceived as a) interacting with other agencies in society--family, church, business organizations, government, etc. or b) providing interactions within itself--teacher groups interacting with students and administrators, etc. Decisions at the macro level can affect the extra-school environment or the environment within the school. Likewise at the micro or individual level what is learned by the actors in formal or non-formal settings may affect the individuals, themselves, or the society in which they live. The learning of the political process takes place in the context of "critical incidents." These critical incidents are decision making experiences where the school political actors implement their skills and resolve the problems of organizational maintenance and change. These critical incidents or choice-behavior situations would be formulated after an inventory of actual or potential decision-making occurrences in the school had been taken. As a result of all this, individuals become

better decision-makers, they have an increased sense of their own political efficacy, and they understand better the political process at different levels (multi level understanding).

The model presented here is rough and much more refinement is in order. It does present, however, a point of departure and a framework to look at the school as a major source of training a participatroy citizenry.

At this point let us review some of the salient points that emerge from our study of the literature and see how the proposed project would address itself to the problems indicated and issues raised.

Research Findings From Literature Survey	Project Potential Solutions
Virtually nothing in literature about political socialization impact of other school subjects and activities.	Build "critical incidents" or "choice-behavior situations" in all of these areas and subjects.
New Programs, including Comparative Political Experience, present segmented activities--e.g., 12th grade government course--contrary to principle that children need powerful enviornment in order to affect basic changes.[31]	Activities would be integrated under master plan. Actors would not duplicate activities but would seek to bring about complementarity of concepts and experiences.

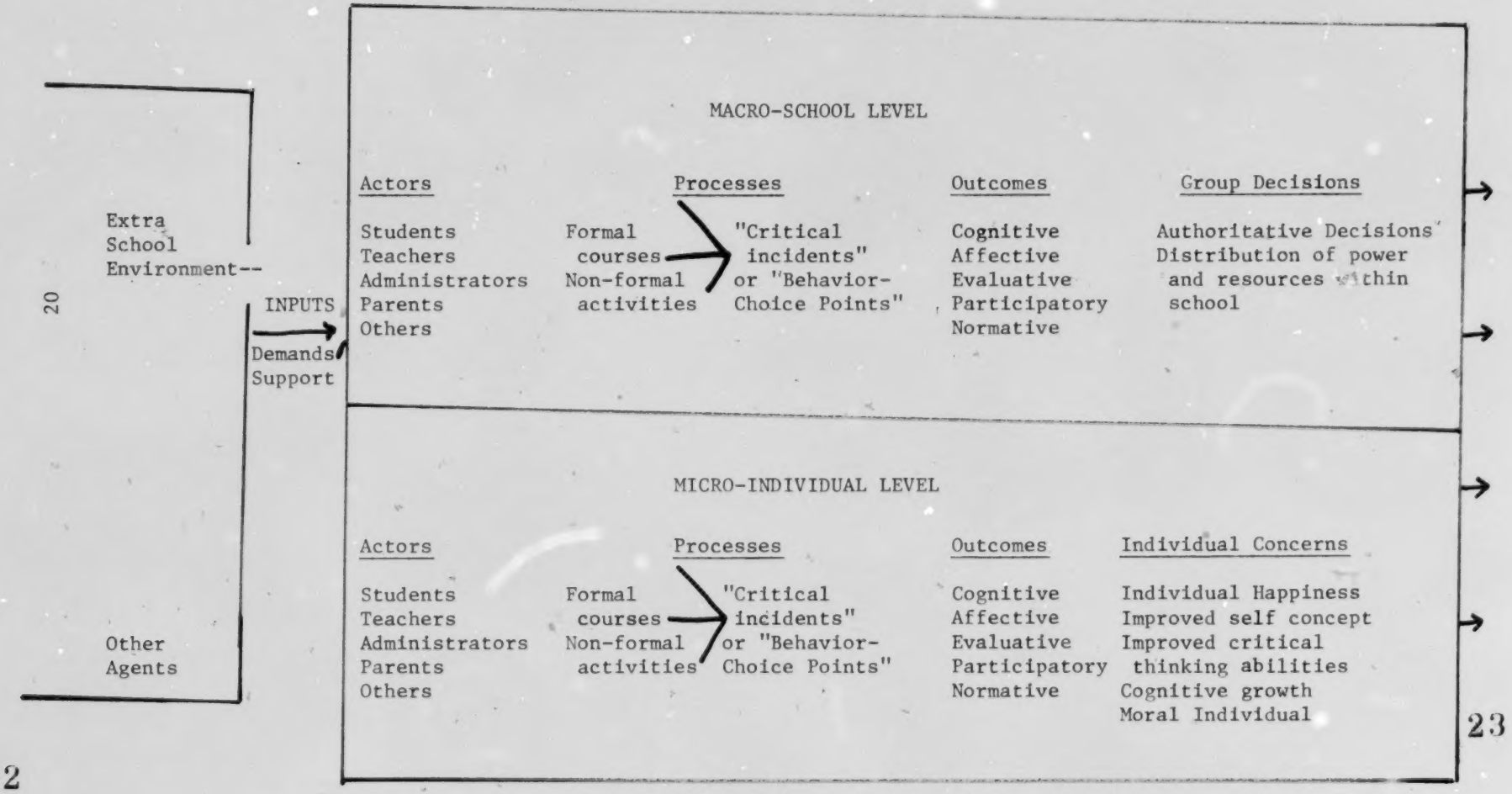
Research Findings From Literature Survey	Project Potential Solutions
Literature does not provide maps of decision making events that happen or may happen in school (exception Lee Ehman's work).	Detailed mapping based on observation and daily participation of school decision-making processes would be affected prior to implementing full plans.
Although classroom climate is an important variable (Judith Torney, Lee Ehman, Samuel Long, and Ruth Long)[32] it is not considered as such in literature.	Observation insturments and self reports would tap class and school climate for political learning.
Reported difficulty in multi-level understanding of political system.[33] With one exception (CPE) there is no attempt to relate school political processes to county, state, national, international levels.	Experiences built into critical incidents would seek to relate political processes at different levels of decision-making.
Students feel civics courses are ineffective.[34] Students are not willing to participate in decisions, nor have they ever been given experience to perform as political actors.[35] How-	Project seeks to take important process of political socialization away from civics. Project takes position that students have not been willing to participate because they

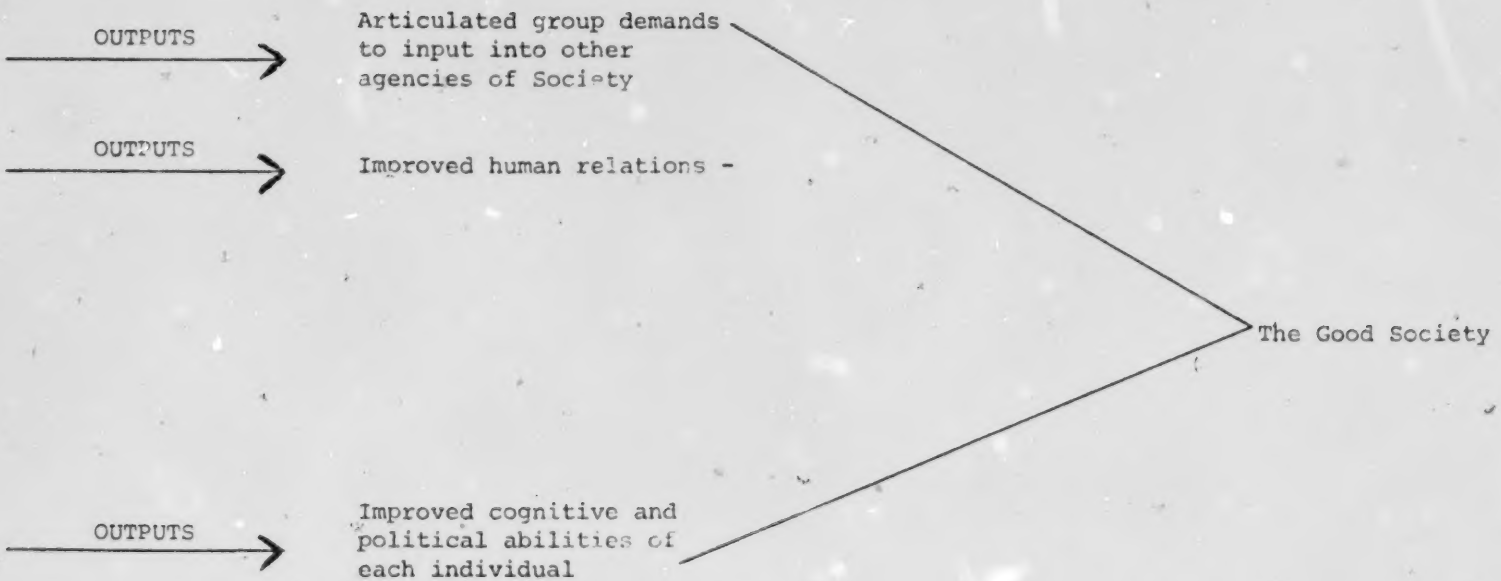
Research Findings From Literature Survey	Project Potential Solutions
ever, non-participation in educational policy is a major source of student discontent.[36]	felt their participation would not result in anything important. It is hypothesized that with a systematic plan for increased participation, students would go out of their way to seek this experience. In this way schools would be responsive to the concerns and wishes of students and meet the goals of American education.
Although peer groups seem to play a consequential role in the development of youthful political orientations (Jennings and Niemi, p. 246) no planned school political experiences are built around peer group activities.	"Critical incidents" would be built around formal and nonformal group activities. These experiences would be in the form of what Prewitt calls institutional opportunities for "choice-behavior."[37] In a choice-behavior situation "age-cohorts are presented a series of concrete choice-points." In a setting such as this they make decisions based on real alternatives.
Most recent political education projects do not go beyond cognitive skills (see review of research in	Proposed project is centered in the development of a table of specifications which brings together substan-

Research Findings From Literature Survey	Project Potential Solutions
in original project proposal). The two projects that move into other skill areas are CPE and Ohio State University Project. In neither of these projects is there a normative dimension. There are no carefully devised content or process taxonomies.	tive political concepts and experiences and behaviors, skills, and processes. (See paper entitled, Critical Competencies for Effective Political Participation in the School). In the substantive domain the idea of the individual interacting with others in a political system is dominant. In the behavioral domain we are proposing three interrelated categories--cognitive, participatory, and normative (ethical). If this were implemented it would be one of the most comprehensive models in political education. "The critical incidents" or "choice-behavior points," would be developed in the context of the table of specifications above after a careful mapping of the school has been done (both its structure and culture). Each critical incident would focus on a number of substantive concepts/ experiences and attitudes/behaviors.

TABLE 2

The School as a Political System:
Group Decision Making and Individual Self Realization




OUTPUTS
Articulated group demands to input into other agencies of Society
OUTPUTS
Improved human relations -
The Good Society
OUTPUTS
Improved cognitive and political abilities of each individual

One of the major social roles that schools as institutions perform is the political socialization of children and youth. By political socialization we mean the process by which individuals learn about the political system and develop certain attitudes and predispositions toward it. A political system is a system of behavior characteristized by authoritative decisions which are accepted as legitimate and binding. The political system exists whenever decisions of how to allocate valued objects in society are made. For example: labor wants a large portion of the profits as do business people. Government establishes rules which form some basis for the allocation (distribution) of profits. The electorate accepts these values as binding. The political system consists of (a) a political structure, e.g., legislatures, courts, bureaucracies, executive officers, or clan councils which perform political functions and (b) a political culture, e.g., the way people feel toward each other and the political authorities. Who gets what, how and when will depend on the ability of groups or individuals to make their demands known and on their skills in following their demands through the gatekeepers (people who by various means control the flow of demands into the system).[38]

Most political socialization that takes place in the school environment is unplanned--it takes place in informal meetings with classmates, teachers, administrators, parent-aides, etc., in such settings as the playground, the school cafeteria the front office, the school clinic, the school bathrooms, the study hall, the library, the gym, the corner drugstore. Planned political socialization in the school most often occurs in formal classes: students are taught

about the government and its legal functions, and they read in their books about the processes and rules under which a person may participate in political affairs. In this type of formal setting, students discuss the political process, but rarely have a chance to participate in it directly. As a result, they develop the feeling that politics belongs to the adult world, and the school (with all the individuals in it) is not and cannot be made part of this adult political world.

All school officials readily endorse the idea that students need to understand how the political system operates and to develop decision-making skills which will enable them to be effective citizens in a democratic society. Yet the instructional provisions made in schools for meeting this noble objective are totally inadequate. They are inadequate not so much because substantive concepts (a concept that comes from any organized system of knowledge or practical experience of the individual) and cognitive (intellectual) skills are neglected (they are taught primarily in social studies classes), but due to the almost total lack of planned political participation of the student. The system does not provide for training students in political skills which in turn could be used and "field tested" in the political arena of the school. Thus, contrary to the objective, schools do not respond well to a major social priority--the need to develop citizens trained in participatory skills who can make rational decisions and see to it that these decisions are carried out.

In the review of the literature found in this project's Developmental Grant Application, we have documented some of the gaps in political education that currently exist in our schools. Other

research confirms our claim that the most critical gaps exist in the affective and participatory domains.[39] While work in the cognitive domain needs to be substantially improved, the areas in which little or nothing has been done, in a planned and systematic way, are 1) the area which deals with one's attitudes toward one's political environment and 2) the area which deals with participatory political skills. Our project plans to concentrate in these two areas.

One way in which we may begin to structure and plan for the use of the school as a student laboratory for gaining political skills and competencies is to develop "tables of specifications." A table of specifications is a two-dimensional matrix which brings together in a logical manner the substantive and behavioral dimensions of a field of study or experience. The intersection of the two dimensions generates instructional objectives, curriculum, methods of teaching and learning, multimedia materials, springboards and activities and evaluation measures.[40]

Table 1 seeks to provide, in the form of a table of specifications, a comprehensive picture of all political concepts, skills, experiences, and attitudes that can be learned in school. This table constitutes an adaptation and an expansion of an earlier effort which sought to bring some order to political learning.[41] This version introduces two new categories of behavior--the participatory and the normative--and adds certain important subcategories to the affective or attitudinal area.

Since the cognitive and evaluative domains have been dealt with in detail in published works, it is sufficient here merely to list those cognitive and evaluative behaviors which are critical to understanding about the function of political system.

Cognitive

Making Distinctions

Demonstrating Conceptual Understanding

Identifying a Problem

Stating a Problem

Forming a Hypothesis

Exploring Consequences

Collecting Relevant Data

Analyzing Data

Testing Ideas

Making a Generalization

Applying a Generalization

Evaluative

Identifying an Issue

Taking a Defensible Position

Grounding a Position[42]

While all dimensions and categories in the table will be considered in the program design, we will concentrate on specifying and delineating competencies and skills in the neglected areas of the school which were mentioned before.

Participatory political behaviors refer to those skills and competencies which are necessary for direct involvement in decisions. Synthesizing from the literature dealing with participatory behavior we have tentatively identified the following skills as falling within this broad category:[43]

Observing

Supporting

Proposing

Mobilizing

Organizing

Cost-Benefit Analysis

Bargaining/negotiating

Rule-Making

Voting

To explain what is meant by each of these skills, let us take a concept from the substantive dimentsion and see how it translates into the specific participatory behaviors. Let us assume we are interested in the process of selecting political leaders (2.3). As a beginning we need to identify critical incidents and observe how the selection takes place. Selection of leaders can take place in such contexts as student elections, class president, faculty elections, student, faculty and administrative assignments to special committees, selection of talented persons to represent a class or the school in different activities, etc. In cases of this nature, observing how people in a group interact and detecting the influence patterns of individual actions is a very critical skill.

Observation often leads to more personal involvement such as supporting or proposing a point of view or an action. Means of support range from offering a sympathetic ear to people expressing certain positions regarding the appointment of a leader to actually siding with or being very vocal in favor of a position expressed in a group setting.

Here one assumes the role of an advocate. Proposing involves the act of originating a point of view or policy and expressing it in understandable and persuasive terms. One may propose, for example, that school principals no longer be appointed by the school board on the recommendation of the superintendent but that they be elected annually by the student body and the faculty, with each group voting in proportion to its number.

Mobilizing entails the skill of getting others to support one's own position. If one wants to change the process of selecting principals one would need to marshal some form of support--psychological or material--from other students, from teachers, parents, board members, etc. Techniques of public mobilization include emotional appeals, coercion, persuasion, etc.

Organizing is the skill of systematically planning and scheduling group activities to meet certain goals. The organizer understands the social psychology of group members and sees to it that maximum efficiency is attained by assigning people to appropriate tasks. In our example, a student may organize a group to make an appearance before the school board to present the view of the membership on the selection of the principal.

Cost-benefit analysis means the careful review of a situation to estimate the loss or gain which would occur should a certain activity be carried out as planned. In its simplest form the skill refers to the ability to figure out what is to be gained or lost from a certain individual or group action. Would the board be more negatively predisposed toward the student demand if the entire student body was to stage a demonstration rather than if the officers of the student body, by themselves, were to present their point of view?

Bargaining is the skill of influencing others to accept a certain decision. Bargaining or negotiating involves a range of techniques such as trading, persuading, or confronting. In trading you give up one of your demands in return for something that the adversary is giving up. In persuading you have been able to convince your adversary to see things your way. In confronting you may use the threat of a demonstration, walk out, and other direct or indirect sanctions against the person or group with which you are dealing.

Rule-Making is the skill of making a decision which is binding on all members of the group or organization. The decision, for example, to select the school principal through an annual election should be clearly stated and should be acceptable to all concerned.

So that we may not think that the school seeks only to train Machiavellians who are only skilled in the art of political trading and negotiating, we should turn to the category we termed normative. This category includes the following:

Empathizing

Being Fair

Promoting Equality

Applying Justice

This category involves the application of ethical standards to politically relevant behaviors and actions. The standards derive from the democratic ethos of American society, but each individual is free to define for himself or herself the specific ethical criteria that are appropriate.

As we negotiate the decision on the means of selecting the school leader, are we empathizing with the people we are dealing with or the people whom our decisions will affect? Do we get a good sense of their

emotions and feelings? Can we place ourselves in their shoes? In our political negotiations, are we being fair on the basis of some explicit criteria we have established? Do we apply the democratic principle of equality when we formulate the content of the decision as well as the means we use in making the decision binding? Do we apply criteria of justice, i.e., will the decision issue from a just act or will it deprive certain people of their rights?

The behaviors and skills in the affective or attitudinal domain constitute the indicesof a person's very general orientations toward the political world. On this point Jennings and Niemi said:

> Here we find political trust, efficacy, interest, cosmopolitanism, idealized versions of the good citizen, imputed attitudes of American society, and relatively obscure issues. While some of these matters are concrete and some have had prolonged visibility, virtually all lack both the specificity and durability of partisanship, group orientations, and many issues. Most are also rather global orientations to the political world, embracing several separate dimensions.[44]

In spite of the claim above, we propose to use these indices as general measures of political socialization. We do so because, in the absence of any other reliable measures, we will initially rely on those that have been used by most of the studies in the past. If in the course of conducting the project we find grounds to alter the measures we will do so. Also, the fact that we have a wide range of categories of skills--from the very abstract to the very specific--enables us to tap significant, not trivial, political behaviors learned in school.

The following competencies or attitudinal frames are included in the affective domain in Table 1:

Being Objective

Showing Political Interest

Being Politically Efficacious

Showing Political Trust

Having a Sense of Social Integration

To be objective means that one consciously tries to reduce the use of emotion and other extraneous factors when viewing and interpreting the world. The opposite of being objective is being subjective--a state in which one looks at the world from a narrow, personal perspective which can be based on sex, race, nationality, place of residence, etc., of the individual.

Showing political interest refers to one's expressed attitude toward one's own political environment in the sense that one seeks satisfaction in attending to political matters. "I turn on the T.V. every time the President makes a presentation to the American people because I want to know how the administration feels about our role in the Middle East." This is a statement that generally expresses an attitude of political interest. On the other hand, a person who does not seek but also avoids political stimuli would demonstrate political apathy. A person in our school setting who doesn't participate in nor is listening to the debates concerning the new methods of selecting the principal does not show any political interest in school affairs.

Political efficacy refers to one's belief that one has the ability to change the political system through one's own efforts or through group efforts. The statement, "I belive our team will win the championship because we know how to play the game and we understand the strengths and weaknesses of our opponents," conveys a person's sense of efficacy in athletic competition. The advocates of an elected principal who

have a high sense of political efficacy would feel that their efforts to influence the board would be successful--this feeling is based on a clear understanding of how board members respond to demands from the electorate.

Political trust refers to the feelings of confidence that one develops toward the political world including political actors and political processes. A person demonstrating political trust would view the government as caring about the personal lives of its citizens. Its opposite is political cynicism--often expresses as, "There is no way to beat city hall," or "All people connected with politics are crooks." To continue with our example, students would have a relatively high level of political trust if they say that board members are indeed concerned with the wishes of their constituents, whether they are young or old.

Social integration refers to a person's ability to feel that he or she is a member of a group, sharing the group's goals and aspirations. In our example, a person who has high sense of social integration would constantly feel that his or her actions regarding the selection process of the principal truly represent the community of students, and vice versa, that the body of students represent his or her views and interests.

An important concept which has been included as part of the substantive dimension for purposes of clarification of the matrix (3.0) is the concept of multi-level political systems. Multi-level refers to the differences that exist among various political units or systems--county, state, national, international--and the relations that exist among these units. The concern of the project is to enable students

to understand how the political system of the school functions, how it relates and how it is similar to or different from other political systems or subsystems. We have called this student ability multi-level understanding of the political process. This ability has both substantive and behavioral components.

The competencies and skills listed and briefly described in this paper provide only a beginning in systematizing the objectives of political education and formulate the basis for the development and refinement of appropriate instruments. At this point no claim can be made that our table of specifications is comprehensive or that its categories do not overlap. We expect that, as we begin to develop relevant instruments which will be used in schools to test our hypotheses about the effects of our intervention system, the categories of skills, competencies and substantive political concepts presented in this paper will undergo some changes.

Political Systems	BEHAVIORAL (STUDENT)																																					
Substantive-Procedural-Experiential	Cognitive											Affective (Attitudinal)											Evaluative											Participatory				Normative	
LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION 1.-Individual 2.-Class 3.-School 4.-Out of School	A Making Distinctions	B Demonstrating Conceptual Understanding	C Identifying a Problem	D Stating a Problem	E Forming a Hypothesis	F Exploring Consequences	G Collecting Relevant Data	H Analyzing Data	I Testing Ideas	J Making a Generalization	K Applying a Generalization	L Being Objective	M Showing Political Interest	N Showing Political Trust	O Being Politically Efficacious	P Showing Sense of Social Integration	Q Identifying an Issue	R Taking a Defensible Position	S Grounding a Position	T Observing	U Supporting	V Proposing	W Mobilizing	X Organizing	Y Cost-Benefit Analysis	Z Bargaining/Negotiating	AA Rule Making	BB Empathizing	CC Being Fair	DD Promoting Equality	EE Applying Justice
1.0 The Concept of a Political System																																						
2.0 A Political System																																						
2.1 Locus of Power																																						
2.2 Legitimacy of Government																																						
2.3 Selection of Leaders																																						
2.4 Citizen Participation																																						
3.0 Comparative Political Systems (Multi-level)																																						
3.1 System Maintenance																																						
3.2 Enforcing Societies' Rules																																						
3.3 Subsystem Autonomy																																						
3.4 Justice																																						

TABLE 1

Table of Specifications:

Political Learning in the School

There are two basic assumptions which underlie the Skills for Democratic Participation Project(SDP):1) that the school functions as a political system having its own internal organization and decision-making mechanisms and processes for allocating valued objects; and 2) that the political processes and allocative mechanisms in the school can be identified and used systematically for learning political skills. Given these basic assumptions we propose to develop, in conjuction with the personnel development program, a complete set of activities and materials which would enable all the actors in the school to learn from and participate in decisions. It is expected that these activities and materials would be implemented in the school's formal and non-formal programs.

We stated elsewhere that a political system is a system of human interactions where valued objects are allocated by the decision makers, and their allocation is binding on all of the people who are affected by it. In the school, as in any political system, decisions are made as to who gets what, when, and how. Whether is is the dismissal of a member of the school staff or the adoption of a new textbook series or the referral of a student to the school's disciplinarian, someone or some group has to make the decision. The decision, however, unless supported by the power to implement it, may never be carried out. Often decisions reached at "student government" meetings are never carried out (especially when they deal with matters which traditionally have not fallen under their preview, e.g., discipline, curriculum decisions, hiring and firing of teachers, etc.). One of the reasons that these decisions are not being carried out is that nobody else except the few

members of the organization consider these decisions authoritative or binding. Thus these decisions are not accepted by the other school actors. Also, to formulate and effectuate a binding decision requires a great deal of political skill and know-how which members of student governments do not normally have. It is not an easy task to become an integral part of a decision-making apparatus in an organization--individuals have to work for it.

Our project assumes that a good decision-maker needs to have skills and competencies as described in the project paper entitled, Critical Competencies for Effective Political Participation in the School. These competencies focus on key concepts relative to the nature and operation of a political system. Behaviorally, the competencies that are sought after are cognitive, affective, evaluative, participatory and normative. While all these competencies are desirable we assume that the SDP project will emphasize the participatory and normative since traditionally these have been the areas that were completely neglected. This point, i.e., the need to build participatory skills, is made well by Forbes Bottomly, former Superintendent of Schools in Seattle, who said:

> "Is it possible...to make a whole school into a social laboratory where students learn concepts, develop cognitive skills and learn how to participate? Take one of these skills--negotiating. There is probably no skill more closely associated with success in our densely populated, highly pluralistic, bureaucratic, at times disagreeable democracy. It is an exercise essential to representative government. The U.S.

> Constitution provides for it along with a power balance which the drafters wisely foresaw as being necessary in forcing fruitful compromise. Banks, corporations, professions, teachers, agencies, and individuals negotiate as a dynamic of survival. Yet we do not help our young learn--in fact, we don't ordinarily tolerate it except, perhaps, in careful simulation.[45]

To meet the need stated by Bottomly the project would seek to develop experiences which would provide the opportunity for students to gain skill in participation and in moral judgement (normative). It is assumed that the cognitive concepts and skills in our taxonomy would be learned either in traditional settings (e.g., courses in government or civics) or in relation to learning political participation skills (e.g., the use of evidence to support hypotheses would be an important skill to have in a group situation in which an individual tries to negotiate a new policy--the need to have sufficient data and other evidence to support a position is obvious).

There are two phases which the development of materials and activities would have to go through. (A) The inventorying of decision-making situations in the school. (B) The development of activities and materials for use in these decision making situations.

We propose that the materials development aspect of the project begin with an assessment of how school actors (e.g., students, teachers, administrators, parents, etc.) perceive the distribution of valued objects in the school. Here the interest is in establishing the range

of decision objectives (e.g., decisions which deal with disciplining students, selecting new textbooks, etc.) and the processes through which these decisions are made (e.g., through group deliberations, arbitrarily, etc.). This inventory would be taken through the use of questionnaires and interviews with all major school actors. In addition, the staff would conduct a series of observations to provide a reality check to the perceptions about decision making of the school actors.

To make the inventorying task manageable we propose to differentiate among different levels of decisions. For example, we could reasonably expect to find decisions made at the school, class, extra-class, and individual levels. At the school level decisions may center around the following: school hours, teacher assignments, student assignments, the use of expense funds, management of food services, group rewards/punishments, lunch periods, new curricular offerings, etc. At the class level decisions may involve the distribution of such valued objects as grades, assignments, individual rewards/punishments, texts and materials, topics of study, tests, participation in discussion, seating, etc. At the extra-class level the decision may relate to the selection of an activity within an organization, cost of the activity, assignment to organizational tasks, evaluation of performance, individual rewards/punishments, etc. At the individual level decisions made involve matters dealing with attendance, selection of friends, participation in activities, and a whole host of other personal decisions that individuals make which have a direct or indirect effect on what and how valued objects are distributed with an organization.

The inventorying phase would coincide with and be part of the work carried out in personnel training (see paper entitled, Personnel Development in Political Socialization and in the Use of School as a Lab for Choice-Behavior.) During this period, the project participants and the staff would be involved in mapping or inventoring actual critical incidents in the school. As mentioned elsewhere however, potential choice behavior points would also be identified and described.

A simple format to use in mapping or inventorying would be centered on getting answeres to the following questions:

What is the valued object?

Who make(s) the decision about the valued object?

At what level(s)?

What are the decision-making processes?

Are these processes clear?

Who does the decision affect?

Is the decision acceptable to those affected by it?

Is the decision fair?

Can the decision be changed? If so, how?

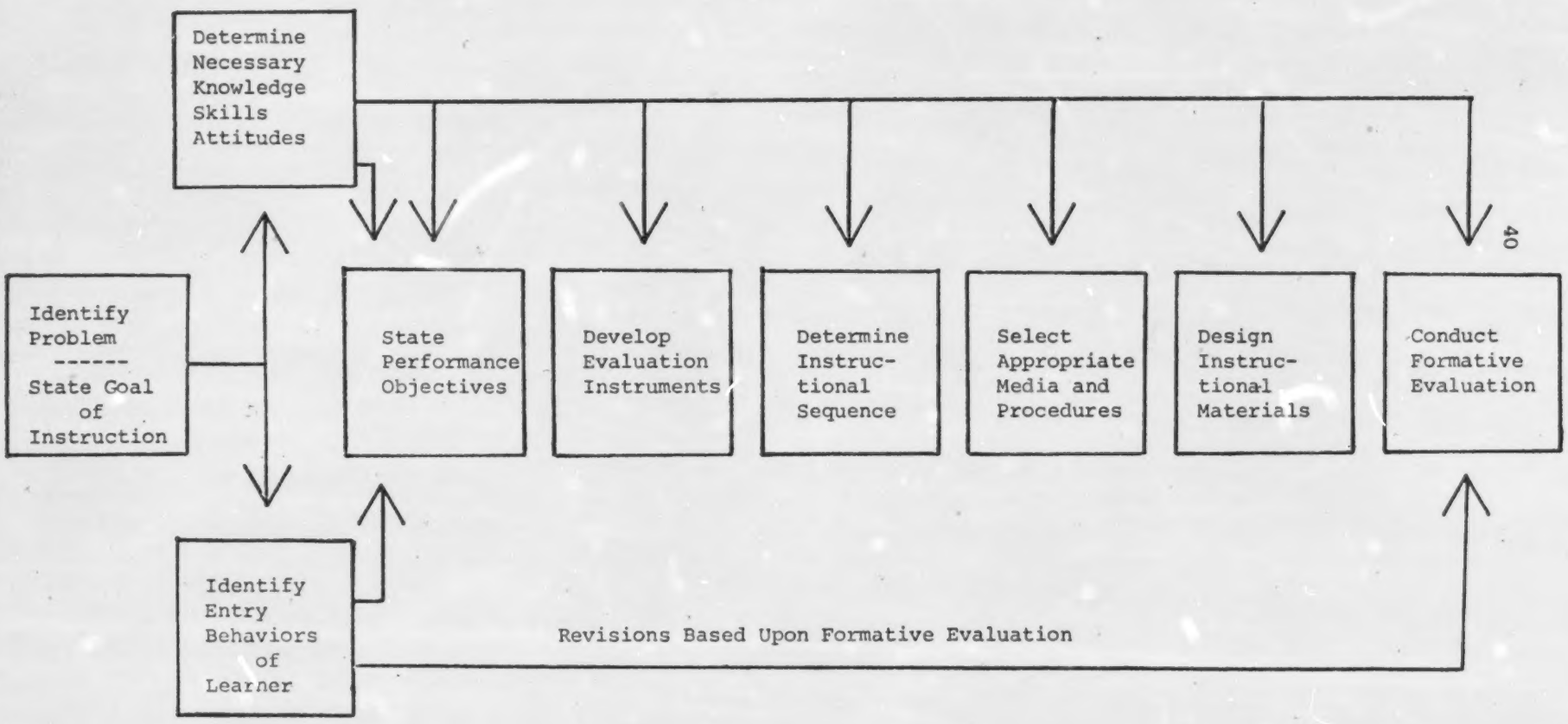
The answers to these questions would provide the basis upon which to build materials and activities to be used with students for gaining political understanding, and decision making know-how. These activities would provide an increased level of participation resulting in ethically defensible actions.

Previously we referred to decision-making occurrences in the school as critical incidents or choice-behavior points. To be more precise we would like to use these terms as follows: "Critical incidents" are the descriptions of the decision making acts in a school setting. "Choice-behavior points" are the planned entries into the decision making acts. The first concept refers to the mapping of the situation. The second refers to the systematic infusion of materials and activities into the situation.

The preparation of materials and activities for choice-behaviors would coincide with and be a part of the personnel training program. As with the first phase described previously the second phase would involve the participants in working closely with the staff in the development and field testing of materials.

The instructional design sequences used in developing the materials are presented in Figure 1. The steps in this design model are to identify problems, state instructional goals, identify learner entry behaviors, determine necessary skills and attitudes, state performance objectives, develop evaluation instruments, determine instructional sequence, select appropriate media and procedures, design instructional materials and conduct formative evaluation. The project would roughly follow the procedure suggested in Figure 1. The materials would generally be based on the inventory of critical incidents conducted during the first phase. Materials would be constructed on decision-making objects and processes at all levels--school, class, extra-class and individual. Materials would take the form of units or modules. The units would be self-instructional, but they can also be used in large

FIGURE 1


Determine Necessary Knowledge Skills Attitudes
Identify Problem
State Goal of Instruction
Identify Entry Behaviors of Learner
State Performance Objectives
Develop Evaluation Instruments
Determine Instructional Sequence
Select Appropriate Media and Procedures
Design Instructional Materials
Conduct Formative Evaluation
Revisions Based Upon Formative Evaluation

or small group settings with a teacher. Presumably units can be constructed on such topics as grading, making class assignments, selecting class discussion topics, disciplining of students, providing food services, health care, transportation, etc. These topics, as we said before, would center around all the valued objects which are authoritatively distributed in the school. However, since one of the goals of the project is multi-level understanding, an attempt would be made to relate decisions on valued objects in the school to decisions on valued objects in the larger society--in business, labor unions, in local, state, or national governments, in international agencies, etc. For example, a topic dealing with "task assignments in an organization" could draw upon experiences in the school as well as experiences in city hall. On the topic dealing with decisions to allocate health services in the school a correlation can be made with the decisions concerning the distribution of health services in a bank or an insurance company. Students would thus be able to understand the generic decision-making mechanisms that are a part of any political system.

It is our intention ot place the topics identified through the process of mapping or inventorying of critical incidents in the school within the context of the substantive-behavioral matrix we developed in the paper entitled, Critical Competencies for Effective Political Participation. Thus each topic would have substantive and behavioral components. It is expected that, on the substantive dimension, concepts would be selected on the basis of whether or not they provide an experiential link with the various school settings. The behavioral

dimension, as we have repeatedly state, would concentrate on participatory skills and the application of ethical standards to decision. These skills involve observation, marshalling group support, mobilizing, bargaining and the like. The normative category would involve the application of the moral or ethical standards to participatory acts, e.g., standards of fairness, justice, reciprocity, etc. These ethical standards are defined and expressed by each individual participant for himself or herself.

It is expected that each unit or module would have student, teacher, administrator, and parent components. The units would be organized under the following headings:

Goals

Behaviors

Main Ideas

Background Information

Springboards

Procedures

Questions

Suggested Activities

Teachers and other school personnel would have several options in selecting units and activities. Their use would depend on student and teacher interest as well as the organization of the total program of participation. It is expected that efforts of one program participant would not be duplicated by another. To avoid duplication a master plan would be made available, beginning with the first year of actual operation in the fall of 1977-78.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF MODEL: SKILLS FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION PROJECT

The model for utilizing the school as a lab for students to gain participatory experience in decision making which has been described in the previous pages has been operationalized in the project Skills for Democratic Participation, Nims Middle School, School District of Leon County, Tallahassee, Florida. This project seeks to develop a two year program for sixth and seventh grade students which will:

1) develop in students cognitive understanding of how decisions are made by individuals and groups of individuals within the school,
2) develop in students cognitive understanding of skills associated with effective participation in decision making,
3) provide opportunities for students to participate in actual decision making using those skills which are associated with effective participation,
4) result in a positive change in socio-political attitudes (political efficacy, political trust, social integration, and political interest) which are associated with effective participation in decision making.

The first step was the mapping of critical incidents-actual decision making situations in the school which affect students. Sixth and seventh grade teachers recorded descriptions of decisions which were made within the classroom and outside the class, affecting their students. An example of the schedule used follows on pages 44-46.

Upon completion of the mapping, results were grouped and categorized. Categories included: decisions about discipline, decisions about classroom

SKILLS FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

NIMS E.S.E.A. TITLE IV-C

SCHOOL MAPPING SCHEDULE

1. List a decision made within class or exterior to class, which affected your students. (example: suspend a student)

_____

_____

_____

2. What was the main purpose of the decision. (example: remove trouble-maker)

_____

_____

_____

3. Who made the final decision? (Mark with an X) Who was/were involved in the decision? (Mark with a ✓)

I was involved	_____	
A student(s)	_____	
Principal	_____	
Assistant Principal	_____	
Other Teacher(s)	_____	
Others (list)	_____	
	_____	
	_____	

4. Where was the decision made? (Check one)

Class _____
Office _____
Other within school (list _____
Other exterior to school (list) _____

5. What were the circumstances of the decision? (Check one)

Routine _____
Unusual _____

SCHOOL MAPPING SCHEDULE
Page 2

6. What power did the decision maker(s) have to make the decision? (Check one)

Had explicit legal authority on the matter _____
Was/were physically stronger _____
Routinely, had never been questioned before (no opposition) _____
Group gave him/her power of decision making _____

7. What were some of the processes used in the decision?

	YES	NO
a. Were others asked about the matter in a specially called meeting?	___	___
b. Was some research done or information obtained on the matter?	___	___
c. Were the individual(s) affected by the decision asked about the matter?	___	___
d. Was there a neutral arbitrator present?	___	___
e. Were opportunities given to individual(s) affected by decision to appeal it?	___	___

f. Other _____
_____
_____

8. Were the processes of decision making clear to all that are affected by it? (For example, if those affected by it knew how to appeal the decision or if the appeal was allowable?)

_____
_____
_____

9. Who does the decision affect? (Check one)

Only person involved in the decision _____
The whole class _____
The whole school _____

10. Was the decision acceptable to those affected by it?

_____
_____

SCHOOL MAPPING SCHEDULE
Page 3

11. Was the decision fair? Why or why not?

_____

_____

12. Can the decision be changed? If it can, how? List specific steps you would take to influence the decision if someone else made it:

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

E. _____

F. _____

G. _____

13. What would someone else need to do to change a decision you have made (for example, a student)? List some of the steps:

A. _____

B. _____

C. _____

D. _____

E. _____

14. Are there areas of decision making where you would not want, under any circumstances, student participation? Explain. (If you are filling out more than one form for decisions, answer question 14 only once).

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

rules, decisions about class activities, decisions about classroom management, etc. At this point, teachers and project staff worked in brainstorming sessions to determine potential decision making categories which had not been identified during the mapping process. Categories were then prioritized based upon the feasability and importance of including students in such decisions. The resulting categories became the decision making topics around which student-teacher curriculum materials would be developed.

It was decided that all curriculum materials would be in the form of teacher modules which would include specific springboards and activities for students. These springboards would be used as handouts for students. Two programs are being developed, one for sixth grade students and one for seventh grade students. Each will include twelve modules which will take the students through a process of 1) understanding who makes the decisions related to a particular decision making topic, the variables which the decision maker must consider, and what individuals or groups might influence the decision maker, 2) understanding specific participatory skills which would be appropriate for the students to use while participating in the decision making topic, and 3) actual participating in decision making. It is assumed that the cumulative effect of the modules will be a positive change in students' attitudes of political efficacy, political trust, social integration, and political interest.

Since this program is seeking to involve students in decision making in a variety of settings, the program is not intended for one subject or period. Rather, it is an across-the-school-day approach to dealing with students. As such, teachers in all subjects will use the curriculum materials. This approach will enhance the effectiveness of the program by providing continuous reinforcement to students for their ever increasing participation in decision making.

Topics for the modules include:

SIXTH GRADE	SEVENTH GRADE
1. Entry Behaviors	1. Extracurricular Activities
2. Classroom Rules	2. Curriculum Input
3. Classroom Responsibilities	3. Classroom Management
4. School Passes	4. Class Project
5. Lockers	5. Current Topics
6. Student Government	6. Student Legal Rights
7. Field Trips	7. Administrative Decisions
8. Rewards and Punishments	8. Human Relations
9. Seating Arrangements	9. Finances
10. Classroom Assignments	10. Community Involvement
11. School Movement	11. Needs Assessments
12. Evaluation	12. Communications

The program is designed to have both horizontal and vertical articulation. Modules within a grade reinforce the student's understanding of and ability to apply participatory skills. Sixth grade modules focus on decisions made within the classroom while modules developed for the seventh grade focus on decisions which affect the class but extend beyond the classroom into the school, school system, and community at large. It is believed that through this process, the students will develop micro and macro understanding of decision making as well as the ability to transfer skills learned in one decision making context to other decision making contexts, both within the school and outside the school.

An effort has been made to keep all activities and examples of decision making within the daily experiences of the student so to insure their relevance

and to increase the probability that students will have some degree of success when they begin to participate. As an example, a module activity which involves students in making decisions about classroom rules will have more relevance to the students than would an activity which requires students to effect rules at the state or national level. Likewise, students would be able to effect classroom rules while the probability of students effecting state or national rules is slim.

All modules will go through the developmental process of technical review, revision, pilot test, revision, second pilot test, revision, and field test. Teachers and students are a vital part of the developmental process and are included as part of the review team at every step. In many instances, teachers have helped in the development of module activities. It is felt that such inclusion will enhance the probability of success for the program.

Perhaps the most important actor in this program is the teacher. Without a basic commitment on the part of the teacher to the importance of including students in decisions made affecting them, the project will not succeed. We do not expect that merely going through a series of modules will accomplish the student change sought, particularly the attitude change. Teachers must be willing to extend student participation in decision making to situations which occur in the normal day-to-day class activities. The purpose of the modules is to develop in students an initial understanding of the decision making process, understanding of participatory skills, and ability to apply participatory skills. Once this has been accomplished, the knowledge and skills gained should be applied to other situations.

Based on the importance of the teacher, a major component of this program is teacher training. Ultimately, the goal of teacher training is to develop in teachers an understanding of the program and a commitment to those attitudes deemed essential for project success. To accomplish this, specific training focuses on: 1) political socialization thecry, 2) physical and social-emotional characteristics of pre adolescents, 3) ethnicity and political participation, 4) classroom management, and 5) political participatory skills. Teachers participate in inservice training during which they have the opportunity to try out the modules, role playing the "participating student" as well as the "power sharing teacher". By the end of the pilot test year, all teacher training will be in the form of self instructional modules.

PROJECT EVALUATION

The evaluation and measurement processes will focus on the following questions:

1) Do students understand how decisions are made by individuals and groups of individuals within the school?
2) Do students know the skills associated with effective participation in decision making?
3) Do students demonstrate those skills associated with effective participation in decision making?
4) Do students hold sociopolitical attitudes associated with effective participation in decision making?
5) Are opportunities available to allow student participation in decision making?
6) Are events which positively reinforce student participation in decision making provided?

These are the major questions for making the impact determinations essential to the project evaluation.

Additional questions which are related to impact evaluation are:

1) Can client group change be attributed to solution intervention rather than to other variables?
2) Was the type and amount of client group change significant, practically and statistically?
3) Are the impact findings generalizable to other educational settings where a like client group has a similar problem?

Information to answer the above questions will be obtained by various methods and from different sources, as follows:

1. The extent to which client objectives were met will be determined by pre-post test measures over each objective.
2. The extent to which group change can be attributed to solution intervention rather than to other variables will be determined by the appropriateness of the experimental design and the method of data analysis employed for project solution.
3. The extent to which client group change is statistically significant will be monitored by a priori decisions setting α (alpha), B (beta), and ES (effect size) in relation to our given N (sample size).
4. The appropriateness of the statistical tests used will be determined by their ability to control for variables other than solution intervention, their power at α , ES, and N, and whether their underlying assumptions can be "comfortably" met.
5. The extent to which solution intervention is of practical significance will be determined by:

   A. Student Interview
   B. Case Study Evaluation
   C. Teacher Interview
   D. Effect Size (Cohen, Jacob. Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences, Academic Press, 1969.)
   E. Professional Judgement
   F. Student achievement of module objectives
   G. Teacher Module Evaluation

6. The extent to which there is sufficient, relevant, and accurate evidence to demonstrate that the problem causes have been solved or appreciably reduces will be determined by project documentation, validity, and reliability of the obtained data.
7. The extent to which the impact findings are generalizable to other educational settings where a like client group has a similar problem will be determined by controlling the threats to external validity.

In addition to information requirements which relate to the expected primary effects of the solution intervention, the evaluation will also search for differential or interactive secondary effects. The secondary effects of special interest to the project include:

1. Whether socioeconomic status, intelligence, race, sex, or previous school achievement, is associated with the achievement of client objectives.
2. Whether previously held sociopolitical attitudes (measured by the pre-test) are associated with the achievement of client objectives.
3. The effects of the treatment on the general discipline context of the school. (suspension, paddling, detention, etc.) Specifically because of the effect of the treatment we are interested in which students:
   a) are less disruptive in class,
   b) become less involved in crime,
   c) have a higher attendance record,
   d) have a lower rate of suspension,
   e) have a lower rate of expulsion,

f) have a lower rate of detentions,

g) have a lower rate of disciplinary referrals,

h) are sent fewer times to the guidance office with classroom problems.

Experimental Design

The Non-equivalent Control Group Design (Stanley and Campbell, 1968) will be used to obtain the necessary information to determine whether the solution intervention is the cause of client change rather than any other variables. The following diagram depicts the design as it will be used:

Non-equivalent Control Group Design

	1977 Spring		1977 Fall		1978 Spring
Nims 6th	X	7th	0	X	0
		6th	0	X	0
School A		7th	0	X	0
		6th	0	X	0
School B		7th	0		0
		6th	0		0

The control school and the experimental schools do not have pre-experimental sampling equivalence. Rather, the group constitute natrually assembled collective of schools, as similar as availability permits.

In the fall of the 1977-78 school year all students in the experimental and control groups will be pre tested. In the spring of 1978, all students in the experimental (solution treatment) group and control group will be post tested.

The main comparisons will be between pre and post test change by the experimental and control schools and within group change by the experimental group. For this analyzes the following change contrast are expected.

KEY

E_c = experimental change due to project treatment

C_c = control change

α = .05

Knowledge of how decisions are made and knowledge of skills needed to make decisions are measured by the Skills and Knowledge Test for Democratic Participation;

$$E_{pre} < E_{post} \qquad E_c > C_c$$

Demonstrating participatory behaviors as measured by the Political Processes Observation Instrument, through the use of simulations;

$$E_{pre} < E_{post} \qquad E_c > C_c$$

Attitudes towards political trust as measured by the Attitude Survey;

$$E_{pre} < E_{post} \qquad E_c > C_c$$

Attitude towards political efficacy as measured by the Attitude Survey;

$$E_{pre} < E_{post} \qquad E_c > C_c$$

Attitudes towards social integration as measured by the Attitude Survey;

$$E_{pre} < E_{post} \qquad E_c > C_c$$

Attitudes towards political participation as measured by the Attitude Survey;

$$E_{pre} < E_{post} \qquad E_c > C_c$$

Table 5.2.1 summarizes the problem causes, the corresponding dependent variable to be analyzed, the type of data that the dependent variable will generate and the instruments used to collect the information.

TABLE 5.2.1

PROBLEM CAUSES	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	INSTRUMENT MEASURE	TYPE OF DATA
Students do not understand how decisions are made by individuals and groups of individuals within the school.	Knowledge of decision making process and knowledge of skills.	Knowledge/Skills test for Democratic Participation.	Interval
Students do not know the skills associated with effective decision making.			
Students do not currently demonstrate those behaviors associated with effective participation in decision making.	Demonstration of participatory behaviors.	Political process observation instrument.	Ordinal
	Use of skills in the decision making process.	Knowledge/Skills test for Democratic Participation.	Interval
Students do not hold socio-political attitudes associated with effective participation in decision making	Political Trust Political Efficacy Political Interest Social Integration	Attitude Survey for Democratic participation.	Interval
Opportunities are not available to allow student participation in decision making.	Decision making opportunities.	Student Interview Teacher Interview	
Events which reinforce are not currently provided to support student participation in decision making.	Reinforcement of participation.		

OBJECTIVE ATTAINMENT

The evaluation of client objectives will involve determining the significance level of pre-post and experimental group differences. If the empirical porportion of success shows significant pre test/post test gains for the treatment groups at α = .05 and significant improvement of the treatment over the pre test/post test levels attained by the non-treatment group, then the requirements of the student objective attainment have been met.

SAMPLING

The target population that will participate in the treatment represent a naturally assembled group of 6th and 7th graders at Nims Middle School and at School A (second treatment). All the students in these grades at both schools will participate.

A sample from this target population will be used to determine the practical significance of the projects impact using a Goal Based - Goal Free case study procedure as outlined previously. This sample will be drawn by using a stratified random sampling technique. The target population will be subdivided into four groups; whites with low reading ability, blacks with low reading ability, whites with high reading ability, and blacks with high reading ability. From these four groups a proportional random sample will be drawn. The size of these units will be proportional to the actual size of the group for the total population. The size of the stratified proportional random sample will be 80. This sample size was determined purely on the basis of what size could be adequately handled given the projected resources of the project, during the field test year.

Equivalence between experimental and control groups will be determined when it is known what the characteristics of individual students attending the particular sites in the 77-78 school year will be.

The following locally constructed instruments have, or are currently, been developed:

1. 6th grade Skills and Knowledge Test
2. 7th grade Skills and Knowledge Test
3. Participatory Skills Observation System
4. Student Interview
5. Teacher Interview
6. Teacher Module Evaluation Form
7. Attitude Survey

Dependent on the instrument being analyzed, alternative procedures and sources for determining the validity, reliability, and appropriateness of the instruments will be used. Table 5.2.2 specifies the need, methodology, information sources, nad the acceptance criterion employed for determining the validity, reliability, and appropriateness of all instruments locally developed.

TABLE 5.2.2

LOCALLY CONSTRUCTED INSTRUMENTS

Test Instrument	Information Needs	Specific Needs	Methodology	Information Source	Acceptance Criterion
Skills /Knowledge Test (6th and 7th grade)	Appropriateness for Client Group	Vocabulary appropriate for Client Group	Vocabulary checked against referenced list considered appropriate for client group	Harris, Albert and Milton Jacobson, Basic Elementary Reading Vocabularies, MacMillen Co., 1972	Documentation that vocabulary that is not included in the treatment is appropriate for the client group
			Vocabulary checked by professionals in the communication skills field	English and Reading Teachers familiar with the communication skills of the client group	Documentation that vocabulary that is not included in the treatment is appropriate for the client group or has been revised.
			Vocabulary checked for comprehension by the cleint group	One-on-One Test	
		Test administration format appropriate for client group	Administration format compared to that typically used by the client group	Various achievement tests typically administered to the client group	Administration format is typically used by the client group
			Administration format checked for ease of administration and understanding	One-on-One Test Pilot Test	Client Group and Administrators understand testing format

Test Instrument	Information Needs	Specific Needs	Methodology	Information Source	Acceptance Criterion
Skills/Knowledge Test (6th and 7th grade) (cont.)	Appropriateness for Client Group (cont.)	Items appropriate for client group	Item Difficulty Indices	Pilot Test	Item Appropriate if: $.25 \leq p \leq$ MPI*
			Item Discrimination Indices	Pilot Test	Item Appropriate if: $0 \leq D \leq .75$
		Items appropriate for client group	Fishbein Bias Analysis Technique	Pilot Test	Items with bias terms outside of -1.5 to 1.5 reviewed for potential bias.
	Reliability	Internal Consistency	Livingston Criterion referenced reliability technique	Pilot Test	$R \geq .80$
		Consistency of test performance	Parallel Forms	Pilot Test	Difference in % score is considered minimal
			Analysis of Pass-Fail Criterion	Pilot Test	% agreement $\geq .90$
	Validity	Construct Validity	Objectives checked by professionals in the field of political socialization	Terminal Objectives Learner Objectives	Documentation that objectives represent the domain of interest
			Factor Analysis	Pilot Test	Adequate separation of Terminal Objectives specific items
		Content Validity	Items checked by teachers and professionals in the field of Instructional design	Objectives and Items	Documentation of the items represent the domain of items as specified by the objectives

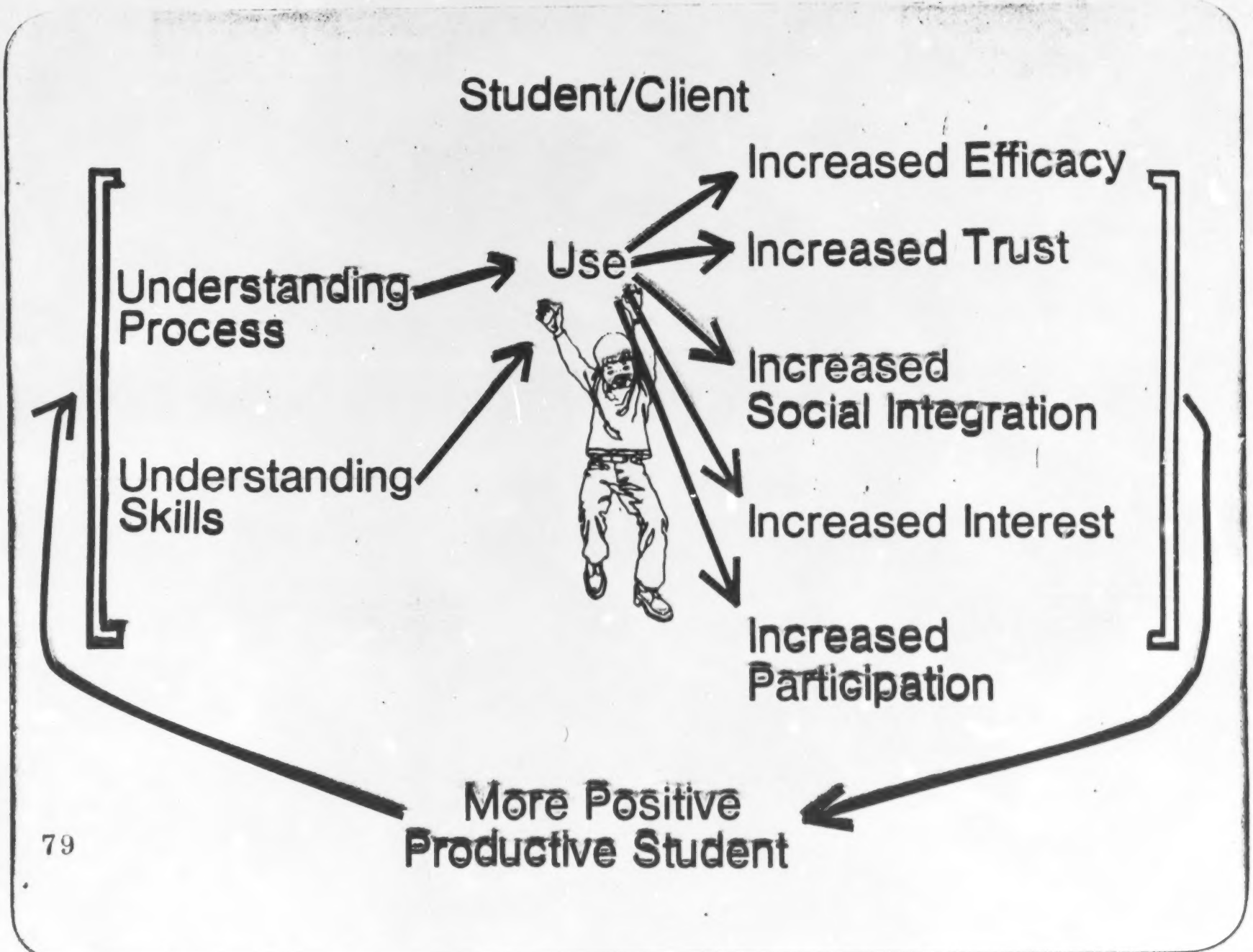
Test Instrument	Information Needs	Specific Needs	Methodology	Information Source	Acceptance Criterion
Skills/Knowledge Test (6th and 7th grade)	Validity (cont.)	Concurrent Validity	Association between test score and "actual" skills	Pilot Test Rankings of students by teachers on their use of political participatory skills	$r \geq .70$
Attitude Survey	Appropriateness for Client Group	Vocabulary appropriate for client group	Vocabulary checked against referenced list considered appropriate for client group	Harris, Albert and Milton Jacobson, Basic Elementary Reading Vocabularies, MacMillen Co, 1972	Documentation that vocabulary is appropriate for the client group
			Vocabulary checked by professionals in the communication skills field	English and Reading Teachers familiar with the communication skills of the client group	Documentation that vocabulary is appropriate for the client group or has been revised
			Vocabulary checked for comprehension by the client group	One-on-One Test	
		Test administration format appropriate for client group	Administration format compared to that typically used by the client group	Various Attitude Surveys typically administered to client group	Administration format is typically used by the client group
			Administration format checked for ease of administration and understanding	One-on-One Test Pilot Test	Client Group and Administrators understand testing format

Test Instrument	Information Needs	Specific Needs	Methodology	Information Source	Acceptance Criterion
Attitude Survey (cont.)	Reliability	Internal Consistency	Cronbach's α	Pilot Test	R $\geq$ .80
	Validity	Construct Validity	Defined attitudes checked by professionals in the field of political socialization	Theoretical Framework	Documentation that defined attitudes represent the domain of interest
			Factor Analysis	Pilot Test	Adequate separation of attitude specific items
		Content Validity	Items checked by professional in the field of political socialization	Theoretical Framework Items	Documentation that the items represent the domain of attitudinal interest as defined in the theoretical framework
Interviews (student and teacher)	Appropirateness	Vocabulary appropriate for interview group	Vocabulary checked for comprehension by the interview group	One-on-One Pilot interviews	Documentation that vocabulary is appropriate for the interview group or has been revised
		Interview format appropriate for interview group	Interview format checked for ease of administration and understanding	One-on-One Pilot Interviews	Administrators and Interviewed Subjects understand format

Test Instrument	Information Needs	Specific Needs	Methodology	Information Source	Acceptance Criterion
Interviews (students and teachers) (Cont.)	Reliability	Consistency in recording interview data	Tape Recording Interviews	One-on-One Pilot Interviews	That tapes are a clear and effective method of recording interview data
	Validity	Content Validity	Content checked by professionals in the field of political socialization	Interview Format	Documentation that the interview content is adequately directed towards the requirements for impact evaluation
Participatory Skills Observation System	Appropriateness	Simulations appropriate for client group	Simulations checked by teachers familiar with the client group	Teachers	Documentation that simulation objectives are familiar to the client group
		Recording Instrument appropriate for observers use	Format compared to that typically employed in analogous situations	Various Observation Systems typically used	Format is typically employed in analogous situations
	Reliability	Inter-rater reliability	X^2	Pilot test	No significant difference between observer responses ($\alpha = .05$)
			Observers can differentiate between participatory behaviors	Assignment of participatory behaviors to typical client group communication	Differentiation between behaviors is adequate or those behaviors where diffentiation is not adequate have been omitted from the observation system

Test Instrument	Information Needs	Specific Needs	Methodology	Information Source	Acceptance Criterion
Participatory Skills Observation System (Cont.)	Validity	Construct Validity	Participatory Behaviors Checked by professionals in the field of political socialization	Defined Participatory Behaviors	Documentation that the behaviors to be observed are an adequate representation of the domain of sociopolitical participatory skills
Teacher Module Evaluation Form	Appropriateness	Format Appropriate for target group	Format compared to that typically employed in analogous situations	Various Inquiry methods typically used	Format is typically used in analogous situations
	Reliability	Inter-rater reliability	Level of association between raters	Usage During Developmental Year	$r \geq .70$
	Validity	Content Validity	Items constructed and approved by professionals in the field of instructional design		Documentation that items are an adequate method of determining the effectiveness of module form

*MPI - an explanation of this will be included in the discussion dealing with the determination of Mastery Levels


Student/Client
Increased Efficacy
Increased Trust
Use
Understanding Process
Increased Social Integration
Understanding Skills
Increased Interest
Increased Participation
More Positive Productive Student

Footnotes

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The Political Education of High School Students," Ibid., p. 64-76, See also Harmon Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher, Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University or Oregon, 1966.

[14]See Citizenship Objectives. Op. Cit., and Cleary, Op. Cit.

[15]In Addition to Cox and Massialas, Op. Cit., and Goldstein, Op. Cit., see Mark M. Krug, "'Safe' Textbooks and Citizenship Education," School Review, Vol. 68, No. 4, 1960, p. 443-480; James P. Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values and Social Studies Textbooks," School Review, Vol. 73, No. 3, 1965, p. 226-257.

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[19]See for example, Niemi, Op. Cit.: E. G. Massialas, "Citizenship and Political Socialization," in Encyclopedia of Educational Research, edited by Robert L. Ebel, 4th revised edition, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1969, p. 124-141, Norman Adler and Charles Harrington, eds., The Learning of Political Behavior, Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1970; Jack Dennis, ed., Socialization to Politics: A Reader, New York: John Wiley, 1973; Roberta Sigel, ed., Learning About Politics, New York: Random House, 1970.

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[25]An exception ot this is Richard Merelman's articile, "The Development of Political Idelogy: A Framework for the Analysis of Political Scoialization." American Political Science Review, Vol. 63, 1969, p. 750-767.

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[35]Judith A. Gillespie and John Patrick, "NOT Another Textbook! Developing and Evaluating Instructional Materials in a High School Political Education Project," Teaching Political Science, Vol. 2, No. 5, April, 1975, p. 237-255.

[36]D. John Grove, Richard C. Remy, L. Harmon Zeigler, "Political Socialization and Political Idelogy as Sources of Educational Discontent," Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 55, No. 2, September, 1974, p. 411-424. The authors make the point as follows: "In order to check the increasing level of educational discontent and to make schools more responsive to students' needs, alternative models must facilitate student participation in educational policies and envorce equitable school rules. The latter point has particular relevance to racial minorities..."

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[42]If one needs further explanation, see Massialas, Sprague, and Hurst. Ibid., p. 146-153.

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